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TRIBES OF THE EASTERN SLOPES OF THE BOLIVIAN ANDES

By Alfred Métraux

INTRODUCTION

Five tribes live along the slopes of the Bolivian Cordillera from the Argentine border to Perú: The *Chiriguano*, the *Yuracare*, the *Mosetene* and *Chimane*, the *Leco*, and the *Tacana*. The *Chiriguano* belong to the *Tupi-Guarani* group; the *Yuracare*, *Leco*, and *Tacana* represent still isolated linguistic families. The *Mosetene* and *Chimane* form a single linguistic group.

CHIRIGUANO AND CHANE

HISTORY

The *Chiriguano* (*Ava Chañanco*) (map 1, *No. 3*; map 2; map 8, *No. 5*) are the descendants of the *Guarani* who in historic times migrated from Paraguay and crossed the plains of the Chaco in successive waves to settle along the foothills of the Andes from the upper Pilcomayo River to the upper Rio Grande (Guapay River). (Lat. 18°–23° S., long. 63°–64° W.) Seven migrations are alluded to in historical documents.

The first migration (1471 or 1476), reported by Garcilaso de la Vega, took place during the last year of the reign of Inca Yupanqui. Another, between 1513 and 1518, can be surmised from the testimony of a *Guarani* Indian who spoke to Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca. A *Chané* Indian captured by the *Guarani* and brought to Itati told Domingo de Irala in 1542 of a third migration, between 1519 and 1523, which probably came after the 1513–18 invasion and certainly before that in which Alejo García took part. The *Guarani* migration described by Diego Felipe de Alcaya, curate of Matarca, may perhaps be this third one, though many details are certainly fanciful. According to Gandia (1935 a, p. 24), this was the migratory shift which took the *Guarani* from the region of Itati to the Province of Santa Cruz and which contributed to the formation of the *Guarayú-Pauserna* tribe.

The fourth *Guarani* invasion, about which we have the most complete information, occurred between 1521 and 1526. It is famous because a few White men, shipwrecked sailors of the Solís armada, accompanied the invading Indians. One of them, Alejo García, seems to have played a conspicuous part in this migration, although Díaz de Guzmán's (1914, 9:26–30) statement that García was the organizer of the raid may be doubted. With a strong force of *Guarani* he crossed the Chaco, probably at lat. 13° S., and invaded the borderlands of the *Inca* Empire. The raiders advanced as far as Presto to the northeast and Tarabuco to the southeast of Sucre. Fearing a victorious return of the *Charcas* (*Chicha*), the invaders retreated, carrying their booty. On reaching Paraguay, with *Chané* and *Tarapecosi* (*Chiquito*), Alejo

Maps 1, 2, 3 not processed for this file

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175 169 García was killed by the *Guaraní*. The historical character of Alejo García's expedition is amply proved by several passages in documents of the Conquest of Paraguay, mainly in the "Comentaries" of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández, Pedro, 1852, pp. 579-580). The success of this raid prompted many more *Guaraní* to migrate westward. Those from the Río Paraná followed the Pilcomayo River. Those from the region of Asunción entered the Chaco north of that city. The Indians of Jerupainaba and Caraysapera, that is to say of the country of Itatí, entered the Chaco near San Fernando (lat. 20° S.). According to Díaz de Guzmán, these Indians were the ancestors of the *Guarayú* or *Itatines*, who lived 90 miles (30 leagues) from Santa Cruz.

In a letter written by Martín González from Asunción in 1556, there is the following passage which confirms the continuous migration of the *Guaraní* toward the Andes: "These Indians [the *Guaraní*] go and come back from the lands of Perú. As they have no roads and avoid their enemies, they reconnoiter the land ahead of them, settle long enough to sow crops and harvest their food, and go on. So went those who for long had been settled in the Peruvian sierras and those who go today to meet the Christians.

"In Asunción are many Indians who with their wives and children have gone there two or three times from opposite that city, along a river [the Pilcomayo] that flows 2 leagues from here and comes from the city of La Plata. The Indians from Paraguay have settled by that river and along the Cordillera, over a space of 100 leagues. Some *Carió* [*Guaraní*] have gone to the mountains along another river, 42 leagues down the Paraguay River, which is called the Ypití [Bermejo River]. *Carió* are established in the mountains near the Ypití River, which also leads, according to what those who came from Perú say, to the city of La Plata." (Quoted by Gandía, 1935 a, p. 37.)

Several thousand *Guaraní*, serving as auxiliaries and porters, accompanied Domingo de Irala and Nuño de Chaves on their expeditions from Paraguay to the foothills of the Andes. It is historically attested that the 2,000 or 3,000 *Guaraní* of Itatí who followed Nuño de Chaves in 1564 were in part the ancestors of the modern *Guarayú-Pauserna*.

The *Guaraní* not only invaded and conquered the foothills of the Andes from the upper Bermejo River to Santa Cruz de la Sierra, but certain groups went even farther to the north and settled near the border of the *Mojo* and *Baure* country. The *Pitaguari* (*Piritaguari*) were a *Guaraní* group established in the Sierras de Chiquitos, north of the first Santa Cruz. There were also *Chiriguano* around the town of San Francisco Alfaro in the Province of Chiquitos, near the Jesuit mission of San Xavier.

The *Guaraní* invasions, which started as plundering raids along the *Inca* frontier, were prompted by the desire to obtain gold and silver ornaments and copper tools from the *Carayara* (*Charcas, Chicha*) and from the *Chané* of the foothills, who were amply provided with these metals. Probably metal objects first reached the *Guaraní* of Paraguay through the *Chané*, whose villages were scattered across the Chaco from the Andes to the upper Paraguay River. Although the prospect of rich loot was certainly the predominant cause of their invasions, the old *Guaraní* dream of a land of immortality and abundance, the abode of the Great Ancestor, also may have played some part in determining their migrations.

175 648 The *Guaraní* finally became such a threat to the *Quechua* towns of the Province of Charcas that an *Inca* Emperor, probably Huayna Capac, built fortresses at Samaypata (Sawaypata), Saigpuru, and Guanacopampa to halt their inroads. Sarmiento de Gamboa (1906, p. 105) speaks of Huayna Capac's wars against the *Chiriguano*, of the *Chiriguano's* capture of the fortress of Curcotuyo (probably Incahuasi), and their defeat by Huayna Capac's general, Yasca. The ruins of these

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Inca fortresses were visited by Nordenskiöld (1915 a, 1924 a), who described them under the names of Incallacta and Incahuasi. They bear witness to the accuracy of the various traditions concerning the *Guaraní* invasions, recorded by the chroniclers of Perú and of the Rio de la Plata.

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Along the Andes, the *Chiriguano* found a peaceful *Arawakan* population, the *Chané*, a branch of the *Chané* or *Guana* tribe, which occupied the northern part of the Chaco along the Paraguay River. The western *Chané*, after centuries of close contact with the Andean cultures, had been deeply influenced by them. They dressed like their neighbors, the Andean *Chicha*, produced a pottery which resembled that of Southern Bolivia and of the valley of Humahuaca, wore metal ornaments and used metal tools. The *Chané* fell easy prey to the *Guaraní*, who slaughtered and ate many of them and reduced the remaining population to a condition of serfdom. The *Guaraní* invaders, having brought few of their own women, however, took *Chané* wives. The fusion of these two tribes produced a civilization in which Andean, *Guaraní*, and some *Arawak* features were intimately blended. The *Chané* did not entirely lose their identity, however, for along the Parapetí River, in the Caipipendi Valley, on the Itiyuro River, and in the Province of Salta (Argentine), *Chané* villages survived under their own chiefs. But even these have adopted the *Guaraní* language and today cannot be distinguished from their conquerors. The *Chiriguano*, nevertheless, consider the *Chané* somewhat inferior, while the latter remember the forays and cannibalistic habits of their former masters. The *Chané* language, probably extinct now, was spoken by a few persons as late as 1908.

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The number of *Chané* is said to have greatly exceeded that of the *Guaraní* invaders. They extended from the Rio Grande (Guapay River) to the Argentine along the foothills of the Andes. At the beginning of the 17th century, according to Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, in the region of Machareti, 400 *Chiriguano* ruled over 5,000 *Chané;* in Charagua, 350 *Chiriguano* owned 4,000 *Chané* serfs; and on the Guapay River, 200 *Chiriguano* kept 1,000 *Chané* in subjection.

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The first White settlement in the land of the *Chiriguano* was the ephemeral town of Santo Domingo de la Nueva Rioja, founded in 1564 on the upper Parapetí (Cordorillo) River by Manso and destroyed a short time later by the *Chiriguano*. In 1571 the *Chiriguano* attacked the *Chicha* and the natives of the Provinces of Condorillo and Barranca. To punish them for their "arrogance," the Viceroy of Perú, Francisco de Toledo, led an expedition against them. The Indians avoided battle and harassed the troops of the Viceroy until he was obliged to retreat in shameful defeat (1574). San Lorenzo de la Frontera, which became the modern Santa Cruz de la Sierra, was founded primarily to keep the *Chiriguano* at bay.

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The first attempt to convert the *Chiriguano* to Christianity was made in 1609, when two Franciscans, Augustín Sabio and Francisco Gonzalez, built a church in the valley of Salinas, but the reduction was soon abandoned because of Indian opposition. The Jesuit fathers founded a college in Tarija in 1690 and undertook the spiritual conquest of the *Chiriguano*. In 1691, Father Arce founded a mission in the valley of Tariquea, which lasted only 3 years; another mission, established on the Guapay River by Fathers Zea and Centeno, met the same fate. At the beginning of the 18th century, the Dominicans founded three missions in the valley of Chiquiacá, Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Miguel, and Santa Rosa, while the Augustins formed the Mission of Santa Clara in the valley of Salinas. In 1715, the Jesuits reestablished their ancient mission of Tariquea. In 1727, all the missions in the *Chiriguano* country were destroyed by the rebellion of the chief, Aruma, and his followers, who feared being taken into slavery. The revolt was crushed by an armed expedition sent from Santa Cruz and composed of Spaniards, "tame" *Chiriguano*, and *Chiquito* auxiliary troops. The *Chiriguano* had been aroused against the missions by the fear of being taken into slavery.

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In 1732, the conversion of the *Chiriguano* was entrusted again to the Jesuits. Fathers Julian Lizardi, José Pons, and Ignacio Chomé entered the southern part of the *Chiriguano* territory and founded the missions of Concepción and Rosario in the valley of Salinas. About the same time, the Franciscans built a missionary center in Tarija and in 1757 they sent missionaries to the *Chiriguano*. In 1767, they reestablished the mission of the Purísima Concepción de Pilipili. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans continued their work with great success. Between that time and the end of the 18th century, the Franciscans founded many new missions north of the Guapay River (Rio Grande): Ahapo, Mazabi, Cabezas, Piray, Igmiri, Tacurú, Iti, Parapeti, Itau, Tapera, Iguirapucuti, Tacuaremboti, Piriti, and Obaig. Some of these were annihilated when the Indians rose in arms in 1796 and 1798. During the war of independence, the Franciscan missions were completely abandoned. In 1845, the Franciscans resumed the conversion of the *Chiriguano*, and built a series of new missions from Itau to the Parapeti River. The more important of these were San Francisco, Tarairi, Machareti, Santa Rosa, San Antonio de Huacaya, Ivu, and San Francisco del Parapeti. In 1886, a messiah called the *Chiriguano* to arms against the Bolivians by assuring the Indians that they had nothing to fear because their oppressors' guns would only "spit water." The messiah and his followers were defeated near Cuevo.

In 1929, the last missions were secularized, and the *Chiriguano* lost the protection of the Franciscans. Many of them migrated to the Argentine where they were employed as skilled workers in the sugar factories. The Chaco war spread havoc in the *Chiriguano* villages at the foot of the Andes. The *Chané* of the Parapeti River then put themselves under the protection of the Paraguayan army, and today they live around the fort of Toledo, intermarrying with Paraguayans, whom they consider to be their kinsmen, "because of the close relationship between both *Guaraní* dialects." These *Chané* are sometimes erroneously designated as "*Guarayos*."

The 16th- and 17th-century chroniclers estimated the *Chiriguano* population at only a few thousand, exclusive of their *Chané* vassals. In 1810, there were 23,936 *Chiriguano* in the Franciscan missions. This figure includes only half the *Chiriguano* tribe, as the pagan members south of the Parapeti River were not reckoned. Cardús (1886, p. 242) gives the following estimate of the *Chiriguano* during the second half of the 19th century: In the province of Acero, 18,000; in the Cordillera and in the region of Izozo, 20,000; in the Chaco, from 5,000 to 6,000. Of these, only 8,000 were baptized and 3,187 lived under missionary care. In 1928, the total *Chiriguano* population was said to be 20,000. Today, after the Chaco war and constant migrations to the Argentine, their number must be greatly reduced.

ARCHEOLOGY

Few archeological finds were made in the region occupied by the *Chiriguano*. Nordenskiöld (1924 a, p. 40) mentions burial urns and ancient sites on the Parapeti River, and similar burials were discovered at Tarupayu. In some graves the dead were seated and were covered with several inverted bowls piled on one another. These bowls have hollow rims filled with pellets. Nordenskiöld refers also to direct burial in urns which show the characteristic corrugations of the *Chiriguano* and *Guaraní* ware.

At Yumbia, in the Province of Tarija, at the borderline between *Chiriguano* and *Quechua* territory, the present author obtained fragments of pots with hollow rims, an anthroponomorphic vessel with ring-shaped body covered with a red slip, and a specimen of beautiful stone panpipes with

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typical *Inca* designs. At Caipipendi (pl. 41, *top, right*), near Charagua, he found a *Chiriguano* cemetery consisting of large, corrugated urns, identical to modern *Chiriguano* chicha jars, covered with smaller jars. Near the surface was found a vessel with incised decoration which has no resemblance to any modern *Chiriguano* ware. The same site yielded a small pot with thin incisions and two suspension holes.

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SOURCES

Short descriptions of the *Chiriguano* appear in the early literature. Garcilaso de la Vega's picture of *Chiriguano* culture is on the whole quite inaccurate, but for a few details. Díaz de Gusmán (1914), Barco Centenera (1836, 1912), and Lizárraga (1909) speak briefly of *Chiriguano* culture, but the earliest firsthand account of it is Father Chomé's letter (1819 b). Tamajuncosa's report (1910) about the state of the missions at the end of the 18th century is also an interesting document. Weddel (1853), who visited the *Chiriguano* in the middle of the last century, published a few notes about their culture. The best sources are the reports and books written by the Franciscan missionaries, Cardús (1886), Corrado (1884), and especially Campana (1902). Nino's (1912) much-quoted book is based in great part on Campana's monograph.

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Nordenskiöld dedicates several chapters of his "Indianerleben" (1912) and of "Forschungen und Abenteuer" (1924 a) to the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*. His data are accurate though somewhat superficial. Great stress is placed on the economic life and the material culture, but social organization and religion receive only cursory attention. However, the collection of *Chané* and *Chiriguano* myths is fairly large and of great interest. Nordenskiöld made a comparative analysis of *Chiriguano* material culture in one of the volumes of his ethnographical series (Nordenskiöld, 1920). More minute details about *Chiriguano* artifacts may be found in Eric von Rosen's (1924) luxurious publication based on a collection he made among these Indians at the beginning of the century.

Several aspects of *Chiriguano* history and material culture were studied in some detail by the writer (Métraux, 1930 b), who also published new *Chiriguano* myths (1931 a) and two sociological essays (Métraux, 1931 b and 1935).

Several monographs deal with *Chiriguano* pottery, which is today one of the best in South America. (Outes, 1909; Nordenskiöld, 1920; Métraux, 1930 b; Paulotti, 1942.) Recently, Max Schmidt (1938) again published and described *Chiriguano* artifacts and techniques.

Knowledge of *Chiriguano* religious and social life is meager and is limited mainly to Campana's monograph (1902) and to observations made by Nordenskiöld (1912) and the present author (1930 b) at a time when aboriginal *Chiriguano* culture was already decadent. The Paraguayan-Bolivian war accelerated its breakdown and little of it now survives.

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The migrations, wars, and the religious conversion of the *Chiriguano* have been the subjects of many historical monographs. The most important of these are by Corrado (1884), Serrano y Sanz (1898), Dominguez (1918), Gandia (1929 a, and b), Métraux (1930 b), Cani (1925), Moreno (1929), and Finot (1939). The Jesuit missionary work among the *Chiriguano* has been described by Lozano (1941) and Muriel (1918).

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

As today *Chiriguano* and *Chané* share in the same culture, the following data may apply to both tribes.

Farming.—The *Chané*, conquered by the *Chiriguano*, were proficient farmers who, though practicing a tropical type of agriculture, were probably acquainted with many of the methods of cultivation of the Andean area. The *Chiriguano* adopted their traditions. The new habitat of the *Chiriguano* did not offer the same resources for hunting and fishing as had their homeland. Therefore, these Indians depend on farming to a larger extent than any other *Tupi-Guaraniguibe*. The basis of their livelihood is maize, of which they have 11 varieties, all related to those of Paraguay. Then follow in order of importance: Pumpkins, beans (11 varieties), sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, peanuts, and some Barbary figs (*Opuntia* sp.). Sweet potatoes were grown on a large scale by the *Chané* of the Parapetí River.

These Indians also raise cotton, tobacco, urucú, and, in the Parapetí region, reeds for arrow shafts (*Arundo donax*). Plants of the Old World adopted by the *Chiriguano* include melons, watermelons, oranges, sugarcane, and sorghum.

Chiriguano men clear the fields and surround them with a tall fence as a protection against the inroads of wild or domesticated animals, a task which is considered to be particularly strenuous. They also till the soil, but at harvest time they are assisted by the women and children. The latter, armed with slings, drive away the parakeets and other birds which prey on the crops. Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 183) observed that among the *Chané* of the Isiyuro region, large maize fields were tended by men while pumpkins and beans were raised by the women.

Collecting wild food.—When their crops fail, the *Chiriguano* subsist on the same species of pods and fruits as those collected by the Chaco Indians: Algarrobo, tusca, mistol, carnaguá, and other plant foods.

Hunting.—Hunting is a very secondary economic activity, at least in modern times. Peccaries, which are the main game animal, are hunted with specially trained dogs and killed with bows and arrows or with clubs. Rheas, which are abundant in the Chaco plains, are caught with bolas. Pigeons are captured with clap nets. Special arrows with two points are used for hunting yacu birds (*Penelope* sp.).

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Fishing.—Fishing is worth while only for those *Chiriguano* and *Chané* who live along the upper Pilcomayo or Bermejo Rivers and, to lesser extent, for the *Chané* of the Parapetí and Itiyuro Rivers. Methods of fishing vary somewhat with the regions. Along the Pilcomayo River, fish are caught with iron hooks, with dipnets, similar to those of the Chaco Indians, with the bow and arrow, and with long two-pronged spears. Fishing baskets are used in combination with stone dams (fig. 57).

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FIGURE 57.—Chiriguano fish dam in the Pilcomayo River. *A* is entrance; *B* are pockets where fish are caught. (Redrawn from Nordenskiöld, 1920, fig. 14.)

Among the *Chané* of the Itiyuro, fishing is done almost exclusively by women and children. They use hooks, but more often they capture fish in small ponds which they cut from the main stream by means of weirs. They also catch small fish in narrow-necked gourds into which they place chicha dregs as a bait. The *Chané* of the Parapetí scoop fish with nets or shoot them with arrows tipped with a bundle of cactus thorns (Nordenskiöld, 1912, pp. 184–185).

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Domesticated animals.—Modern *Chiriguano* raise sheep, cattle, horses, and chickens. Their dogs are so completely mongrel that their European or Indian origin cannot be ascertained. The *Chiriguano* were probably acquainted with chickens when they arrived in their present territory, for they use a *Guaraní* term for them. Pets are not numerous in their villages; most of them are parrots which were captured by means of a noose attached to the end of a long pole. In order to approach the wild birds, the Indians use tame parrots and decoys.

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Cooking.—Maize is prepared in a great many ways. The grains are eaten on the cob, roasted in special pans, boiled in water, or ground into flour, which is served with every meal. One method of preparing maize flour is to steam it in a perforated bowl.

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Chiriguano mortars are of the cylindrical type; the pestle is long and heavy. Maize flour is sifted in round basket sieves very similar to those used in the rest of tropical South America. Meat is boiled or broiled on a spit; the babracot is conspicuously absent. Food is served in clay bowls and more rarely in wooden dishes, and eaten with wooden spoons. Salt is extracted from mines near San Luis, or obtained by evaporating the water of salty brooks.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

Dwellings.—Until the 17th century, the *Chiriguano* built large communal houses, "150 feet [46 m.] long," in which many families lived together, each occupying the space between two wall posts (Linárrega, 1909, p. 552). A hundred years later they were lodged, as they are now, in small rectangular houses, with a steep gable roof and wattle-and-daub walls. Sometimes the roof projects in front to form a small veranda. A house belongs either to a single biological family or to two or three closely related families, generally parents with their married children.

The ancient villages were composed of three to five long houses, grouped around the plaza. Modern villages also have a central plaza. A storehouse is built on piles near each dwelling and serves to protect crops against rats and dampness. Like the settlements of their Paraguayan ancestors, some ancient *Chiriguano* villages were protected by a single or double palisade.

Household furniture.—The *Chiriguano* sleep on platform beds of reeds and use their woolen or cotton hammocks to recline on during the day or as cradles for babies. The typical *Chiriguano* hammock is made of long warp threads twined together at set intervals by weft strands; a few caraguatá specimens are made in a net technique. Other items of furniture are benches carved of a single piece of wood, large vessels to store clothes and food, and crude shelves hanging from the roof. A tree trunk with three radiating branches serves as supports for vessels or for piles of corn.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Clothing.—*Chiriguano* men, wearing only a G string (chiripá), were a common sight before shirts and pants came into general use. The cotton tunic (cushma), which was adopted from the *Quechua* after the *Chiriguano* migrations, disappeared long ago, but the poncho, a more recent acquisition, is still popular. As early as the 18th century, *Chiriguano* horsemen, in true Spanish style, wore skin breeches and leather coats. They wear sandals when they have to walk over stony ground or through thorny bush.

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Chiriguano women still dress in tipoys, a long, sacklike garment, fastened on both shoulders with thorns or sometimes with luxurious silver pins (pl. 42, *right*). Some tipoys (tiru) are so long that they need to be folded. 291

Anciently, *Chiriguano* men shaved their foreheads, as did the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. At a later period, men and women wore their hair long and carefully groomed it with combs. These were artistically carved from a single piece of wood; some of them were cut into the shape of animals. Men wrapped their hair around the head and kept it in place with a headband. 302 412

Women part their hair in the middle and tie it over the neck with a tasseled fillet, or with a ribbon across the forehead.

Body painting.—Both sexes formerly painted their faces and their bodies with urucú. In more recent times, women were content to smear their cheeks with urucú before taking part in a feast. Men stained their teeth black with a special grass. 302 178

Ornaments.—The distinctive ornament of the *Chiriguano*, even in modern times, is a tin labret studded with turquoise fragments (pl. 43; fig. 59, *e*). Originally, labrets were made of rosin, as were those of the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. Wooden labrets or a piece of reed inserted in the lower lip remains common among children and also among men too poor to acquire a metal labret. Some of the round tin labrets are more than an inch in diameter without including the flanges which hold them on the inside of the lower lip. 301 178

Feather ornaments almost disappeared after the migration and were replaced by typical Andean woven frontlets studded with metal plates. Men hung elongated silver plates from their necks; these ornaments probably originated from small metal tweezers worn in the same fashion (fig. 59, *a*). The most valued necklaces are composed of turquoise or chrysocolla beads which are traded from the Mestizos of Tarija or taken from the sepulchers of the people who preceded the *Chiriguano* in their habitat. Ordinary necklaces were once strung with shells or seeds, but now consist of glass beads. 301 177 [439]

Miscellaneous.—The *Chiriguano* have the deserved reputation of being among the cleanest Indians of South America. Men and women bathe several times a day, washing themselves with crushed fruits containing saponin. Soap is in great demand throughout *Chiriguano* territory. 515 824

Men depilated their faces and bodies with metal tweezers. 302

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The rivers in *Chiriguano* territory are not suitable for navigation; the only watercraft are crude rafts used to cross the Pilcomayo River. 501

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Carrying devices.—In contrast to other Guaraní, the Chiripanes do not have basketry knapsacks; women use large carrying nets with a tumpline. Babies are carried in a woven sling, straddling their mother's hip.

PLATE 38.—*Chiripanes and Chané pottery decorations.* (After Métraux, 1930 b, pl. 32.)

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Pottery.—Chiriguano pottery is, for the beauty of its painted decoration and the variety of its forms, outstanding in modern South America. The mixed origin of Chiriguano culture is reflected in the two types of earthenware vessels. The plain pots for cooking and the large jars for chicha, which did not differ from similar vessels of the Paraguayan Guaraní, were ornamented with fingernail impressions (pl. 41, bottom, right).

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Ea
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Ea
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301
Ea
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PLATE 38.—Chiriguano and Chané manufactures. a, Silver pincers used as brass ornaments; b, bird-arrow point; c, handle to wooden spindle; d, wooden whistle used as ornament; e, tin labret with mosaic inlay; f, Chané pan-shooter. (a, d, e, redrawn from Rivet, 1924; b, c, f, from Nordenskiöld, 1910, figs. 28, 12, 3, 24.)

2.Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10.Chiriguano SF10
Chiriguano SI 9

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The de luxe vases and dishes, typologically related to vessels in the archeological pottery of southern Bolivia and northern Argentina, were decorated with distinctly Andean patterns (figs. 36, 60). The most common vessel is the pyriform, a subglobular vase with ears, in which chicha was served. The motifs are mainly geometrical and most of them

FIGURE 60.—Chiriguano pottery. Specimens at top, right, a Honduras archeological specimen included for comparison. (Approximately 1/7 actual size.) (Redrawn from Métraux, 1930 b, fig. 70, pls. 21, 27, 44.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

are based on a triangle surmounted by a scroll, which is multiplied in countless variations.

Women potters (pl. 41, *top, left,* and *bottom, left*) tempered the clay with crushed potsherds and built up their vases by coiling. They painted them with several kinds of ocher and with black obtained from rosin.

Spinning and weaving.—Among the *Chiriguano,* wool is more commonly used than cotton for textiles, but *Chané* fabrics are generally of cotton. The fibers are spun with a drop spindle weighted with a clay whorl (pl. 42, *center*). Although garments are in part Andean in shape, the loom remains of the vertical type. Formerly, indigo was the favorite native dye; today aniline dyes have entirely replaced it. The ornamentation of the fabrics is limited to a few stripes.

Netting.—Fishing nets and carrying nets are made by means of a wooden gage in a reef-knot technique.

Basketry.—Fans, round baskets with overlapping lids, and sieves are twilled with palm leaves in the best Guiana fashion, but wickerwork basketry is very common. No large baskets for carrying or storing food are made.

Gourds.—The painted, incised, or fire-engraved (fig. 61) gourds (*Lagenaria siceraria*) used as cups are, after pottery, the best expressions of *Chiriguano* art. The motifs are mainly geometrical, with occasional realistic representations.

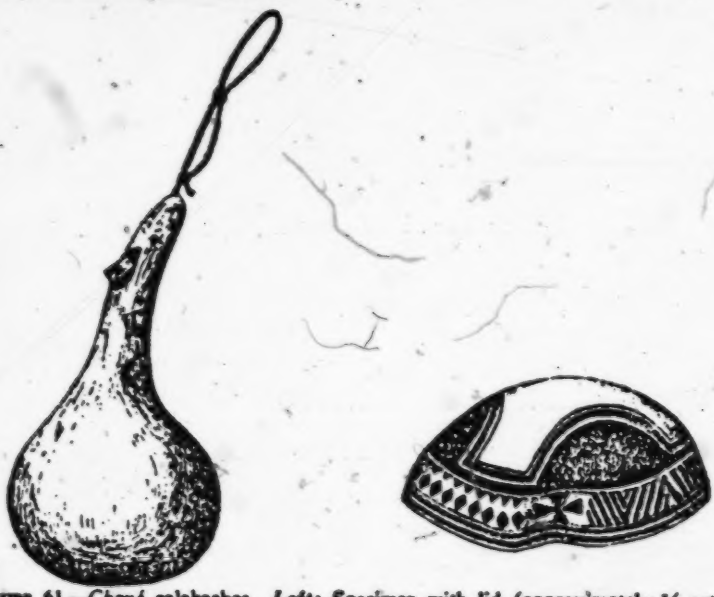

FIGURE 61.—*Chané* calabashes. *Left:* Specimen with lid (approximately ¼ actual size). *Right:* Pyrograved specimen (approximately ⅓ actual size). (Redrawn from Nordenskiöld, 1920, fig. 50 and Métraux, 1930 b, pl. 62.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Fire.—For several generations the *Chiriguano* and *Chané* have used steel and flint for making fire. The fire drill is, however, remembered in their mythology.

Weapons.—The *Chiriguano* bow has an average length of 4 feet (1.2 m.); the stave is flat on the belly and convex on the back. Both ends are sharpened to prevent the string of twisted hide from slipping.

Arrows are tipped with carefully barbed rods, with two rods barbed along the outer edges, (fig. 59, *b*) with flat lanceolate heads, or with a conical knob (bird arrow). The arrows armed with two diverging rods are used to shoot large birds, such as the yacu (*Penelope* sp.). Fishing arrows of the *Chané* bristle with cactus thorns. Today arrows ending in a sharp wooden rod are rare, as the modern arrows are usually tipped with heavy wires. The shafts are made of cultivated reeds (*Arundo donax*). Formerly, the *Chané* used the uva grass (*Gynerium sagittatum*). Feathering, which is of the cemented type, is sometimes omitted.

The clubs of the *Chiriguano* in the 17th century were short and ended in a flat, oval head, a shape somewhat related to the ancient *Tupinamba* club. These clubs have disappeared (only a single specimen could be obtained in 1929 by Métraux) and have been replaced by simple cudgels that serve only to knock down wild pigs.

Chiriguano in direct contact with the *Quechua* have woolen slings; those living farther to the east have slings made of caraguatá fibers, which they use mainly to chase birds from the fields. The pellet bow is common among the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*, but is merely a toy for boys.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Originally, the *Chiriguano* community consisted of a few extended families or lineages, strictly patrilineal. Modern villages are composed of many small biological families bound by relationship ties or by their allegiance to a common chief.

Chiriguano chiefs (mburubicha) of old were men distinguished by their courage, their eloquence, and often by their magic power. They enjoyed considerable prestige and held no little authority. Some of them (tubicha rubicha) extended their influence over a wide area and were recognized as a supreme chief by the local chieftains. The main function of a chief was to settle quarrels within the village, to punish thieves, to see that people worked in the fields at the proper time, to arrange feasts, and to lead his men in war. Chiefs also had right of eminent domain over the land. Sometimes a chief was assisted by an informal council consisting of shamans and of the oldest and bravest men of the community. As a rule, a chief, even if he was powerful, led the same type of life as any of his subjects; in recent time some chiefs had servants. Some aristocratic pride was evidenced by the members of their family.

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Chané SF8

Chieftainship was inherited in the male line, but the title was bestowed on a chief's son only if he were worthy of it. There are only a very few cases of women ruling a *Chiriguano* group, but the *Chané* remembered the names of several women leaders. According to a genealogy of a *Chané* chiefly family recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 229), power was inherited successively by the brothers and sisters of a deceased chief before it passed to his son. In the village visited by Nordenskiöld, the brother's son of the chieftainess was the actual ruler, but her son by a commoner was the heir apparent. This system of succession is probably the same as the one prevailing among the eastern *Chané* (*Guana*).

Chiriguano chiefs of the past wore conspicuous ornaments and were entitled to carry the yanduwa, a pole with a bunch of feathers tied at the end, and a carved stick.

Property.—A plot that had once been cultivated by a man belonged to him and to his descendants, but could not be alienated by him. In order to insure new ownership rights, a *Chiriguano* would plant a few pumpkins on the land which he intended to clear.

Justice.—Thieves were expelled from the community or sometimes were flogged. A man convicted of adultery could lose his property. Murderers were sent into exile, unless the victim's family had time to kill him first. Wronged individuals often took justice into their own hands and challenged the offender to a duel. The settlement of old accounts occurred generally during drinking bouts.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—Soon after childbirth, the mother went to the river to wash and smear herself with urucú. Both parents observed various food taboos. The father rested for a few days on his bed and refrained from any work, lest he harm the baby. One twin, as well as any malformed infant, was killed (Campana, 1902, p. 72).

Puberty.—Menstrual flow was attributed to the bite of a mysterious serpent. At her first menses a girl was hoisted in her hammock to the roof of the hut, where she was compelled to stay for 5 days without uttering a word. Then she remained for a month or more enclosed in a corner of the hut. Her hair was clipped short, and she was put on a diet of boiled maize. During her seclusion, she spun and wove wool and cotton so that she would be diligent for the rest of her life. Meanwhile, she became pallid, which was greatly admired when she returned to normal life. Henceforth, she used the affirmative "é, é" instead of the childish "ú, ú."

In ancient times, the confinement of a pubescent girl lasted for several months or even for a year[1] (Campana, 1902, p. 86).

[1] According to Father Chomé (1819 b, p. 202), the pubescent girl was hoisted in her hammock near the roof. During the second month, the hammock was lowered, but the confinement ended only in the third month, when a group of old women entered the hut with sticks to start a symbolic hunt for the serpent that had bitten the girl.

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852 304 **Initiation rites.**—Some time between the ages of 7 and 12, a boy had his lower lip perforated by a shaman, who used for this purpose a sharp deer horn. The ceremony was performed only when a sufficiently large group of boys in the village was ready for it. Before they underwent the ordeal, the boys were told that they must show fortitude and that subsequently they could give up the affirmative "ú, ú" for the masculine "tà." A short period of fasting followed the operation.

831 191 **Marriage.**—In contrast to the free life led by Chaco girls before marriage, *Chiriguano* girls were expected to keep their virginity and were carefully watched by their mothers.

583 171 Chomé (1819 b, p. 202) says that a suitor provided his prospective father-in-law with crops and game. This statement suggests bride service, a custom widely spread among *Guaraní*-speaking tribes and one observed by the *Chané* of the Parapetí River a few decades ago. The bridegroom settled temporarily or permanently with his wife's family.

591 595 622 556 Polygyny, at least in recent times, was restricted to chiefs or to men of wealth. A man's wives generally lived together in harmony, but in many cases they were kept in separate villages. Polygynous wives were often sisters or a mother and her daughter.

763 **Death.**—If the condition of a person was deemed fatal, he was surrounded by a group of women who gave vent to the most spectacular outbursts of grief. This anticipation of the funeral was regarded as a manifestation of affection and respect. The deceased, painted and dressed in his best clothes, was placed squatting in a large chicha jar and was buried, accompanied by his possessions and some food, in the hut where he had lived. The urn was covered with a large jar or plate. The closest female relatives cut their hair and deposited it on the grave. The widow, her head covered with a rag, mourned for a whole year, wailing at certain hours during the day with all the appearance of profound sorrow. She could not resume normal life until a close relative of her dead husband had suggested that she forget her grief. A drinking bout marked the end of mourning.

764 765

775 The soul on its journey to the land of the dead (iwoka) faced many ordeals. It had to walk under a wall of fire, over a boiling lagoon, between two onrushing rocks, and between the blades of gigantic scissors. Finally, the deceased reached a land where the dead lived in abundance and joy. This pleasant heaven was open only to those who had never violated traditional custom.

WARFARE

721 **Intertribal warfare.**—Raids to steal crops or cattle or to kidnap women were the main causes of intertribal warfare. The head chief convoked the lesser, i.e., village chiefs, harangued them and listened to their advice. Women performed a special dance and sang to stimulate the courage of the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight.

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Chane SF8

the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight. The main tactic was to surprise and not to be surprised. Scouts were sent ahead of the army and sentries were placed on guard at night. The attack was carried out at dawn. During the battle, the women of the attacked village danced and sang to help their men resist. The victorious party returned with the heads of their slain enemies, which were subjected to all sorts of outrages.

CANNIBALISM

In the past, prisoners were ceremonially killed and eaten. The victims were usually the *Chané*, of whom, according to Lizárraga (1909, p. 552), the *Chiriguano* had eaten about 60,000 during the 16th century. Warriors delivered the captives to their children, who shot them with arrows. Prisoners whom they spared were incorporated into the *Chiriguano* tribe. In more recent times, the prisoners who were not put to death were kept as slaves.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Musical instruments.—*Chiriguano* musical instruments are mainly copies of European or Andean instruments, such as the transverse flute. The transverse flute is Spanish, but the quena or end flute (pl. 43, *bottom*) is Andean. Among the most prized possessions of these Indians are round wooden whistles with two stops, and sereres, elongated pieces of wood, perforated lengthwise and blown by stopping the lower aperture (fig. 59, *d*). The clarinet with a slit reed tongue and the cowhorn bell are post-Columbian. The hide-covered drums beaten during feasts is of Spanish origin. Panpipes occur only among the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

Dances.—Dancers of each sex form a separate line, holding hands with their neighbors. Under the leadership of a master of ceremony who beats time with a feather tuft, men dance on the same spot by bending the knee slightly while women move forward and backward or dance around the men, shaking rattles.

Drinking bouts.—Drinking bouts, in which enormous quantities of chicha are consumed, are attended by friendly communities, which are ceremoniously invited.

Narcotics.—Formerly, tobacco was grown in small quantities by the *Chiriguano* for ceremonial purposes. Today some *Chiriguano* smoke cigarettes, but seldom the pipe. A pre-Hispanic clay pipe was unearthed by Nordenskiöld at Caipipendi. Only a few *Chiriguano* who live near the *Quechua* chew coca, which, however, they do not cultivate.

Fermented drinks.—Maize chicha is the favorite beverage of the *Chiriguano*, who practically subsist on it during the weeks following harvest. Its preparation, entrusted to women, is a lengthy and com-

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

plicated affair: the grains are crushed in the mortars, and chewed flour is added to the meal, which is thoroughly boiled for many hours in large jars. The *Chané* of the Parapetí River make a fermented beverage of sweet potatoes.

Gambling.—*Chiriguano* and *Chané* are acquainted with the suka game of the Chaco Indians, which undoubtedly has an Andean origin.[3] Another favorite dice game is called chukareta: a bunch of sticks with one face concave and the other convex are thrown to the ground, after one of the partners has chosen one of the sides. If, e.g., the thrower has decided on convex, all the sticks with the convex side up go to him. The one wins who gets most sticks (Nordenskiöld, 1920, p. 99).

European dice games are also known. The dice are of bone or clay and have special markings. Many *Chiriguano* ruin themselves at the famous taba game of the Mestizos. It is played with an ox astragalus, which is thrown in turn by the gamblers, who bet on which side the bone will fall.

Games.—Young boys acquire marksmanship by shooting at a rolling wheel. Boys also play hockey, as do their neighbors of the Chaco. They also hurl darts made of a stick and a corn husk. A popular game among children consists in casting a stick so that it rebounds. The one who throws it farthest scores a point, and the first to score eight points in succession wins (Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 197).

They also throw at each other a shuttlecock made of maize leaves and strive to keep it in the air as long as possible.

Formerly, the *Chané* of the Parapetí River, like so many Guiana tribes, played a ball game with rubber balls which they butted with their heads. They seem to have used two kinds of rubber balls, black solid ones and white hollow ones which they obtained from the region of Santa Cruz or from the Province of Chiquitos.

Chiriguano women had a game (itarapoa) in which they threw a stone ball or a hollow clay ball filled with pellets at rows of maize grains placed by twos, one above the other.

Small children whirled tops made of a calabash or played with wax or rag dolls.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

During 200 years of close contact with missionaries, many Christian concepts have crept into *Chiriguano* religion. Tunpa, or Iandapoha ("Our Creator"), is commonly held to be the "real god." Aguaratunpa, the Fox God, is a mythological trickster with some features of a culture hero. He was regarded by many missionaries as the functioning god of the *Chiriguano*. There is some evidence of a solar cult, just as there is among the *Guaraní*. Aboriginally, the *Chiriguano* were mainly concerned with "iya," nature spirits, and with "ana," the souls of the dead.

[3] The dice are made of four pieces of wood, flat on one side and convex on the other. The rules of the game are described in the chapter about Chaco games (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 337).

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C 756 554

The shamans (ipaye) enjoyed considerable prestige. When invited by a village to assist its inhabitants in some predicament, they were received with marks of great respect and were lavishly entertained. They served the community as rain makers and as doctors. In the latter capacity, they treated patients or protected the whole village against epidemics. Their curing technique followed the usual South American pattern of blowing and sucking the sick person. They retired to small cabins to communicate with spirits. Blowing tobacco smoke played a large part in the shamanistic ritual. The medicine men were expected to discover the evil charms that threatened the individual or the community as a whole. Shamans were often put to death for their failure to bring rain or to dispel an epidemic. Old women were often called to cure diseases which required the administration of drugs.

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C 887 759
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During carnivals, which, under the Bolivian influence, have become a period of wild rejoicing, young men wearing masks (pl. 44) of soft wood amuse the spectators by their antics and tricks. As the best masks are those carved by the *Chané*, it is likely that the clown interludes are survivals of dances by masked persons representing nature spirits or ghosts, such as are performed by many *Arawak* tribes. The *Chané* and *Chiriguano* masked characters collect food and depart amid the tears of old people.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

C 773 824 [789]

Cosmogony.—The Sun is a man and the Moon is his wife. In the evening the Sun enters a river which he follows until he rises again. An eclipse of the Sun or of the Moon is caused by the attack of a "purple" or "yellow" jaguar. Everybody then makes as much noise as possible to frighten off the celestial feline.

C [805]

The appearance of the Pleiades, which the *Chiriguano* call "a swarm of bees," announces the harvest season. Their yearly course serves also to reckon time. The *Chiriguano* identify Scorpio with a fenced field, in the center of which is the miraculous spade of Aguara-tunpa. In the black skies near the Milky Way (the road of the rhea), they see a celestial ostrich (rhea), the head of which is the Southern Cross. The Magellanic Clouds are the ashes of a fire built by a couple who went to the sky. (See Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924.)

C,Ee 773 114
Ee 773

Folklore.—Most of the *Chiriguano* folklore recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912) was obtained from a *Chané* of the Parapeti River region. The collection of myths and tales made by Métraux (1930 b) in *Chiriguano* villages shows that both groups, in spite of their different origin, share substantially in the same folklore. Certain motifs in the *Chané* version, however, have not been recorded among their ancient *Chiriguano* masters, and may well be *Arawak* traditions which have survived among them. An example is the theme, which is well known in the Guianas, of the

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"tree-of-life," or "mother-of-all-trees," which was placed by Tunpa on the earth and then disappeared, leaving all food plants as its offspring.

A flood, which once covered the world, was caused by the curse of a young woman who was insulted by her mother-in-law. In another version of this myth, the flood resulted from a storm brought about by a man with wings (Thunderbird). A boy and a girl were placed in a jar with all kinds of seeds and, when the waters subsided, they planted these seeds and repeopled the world.

There are two versions of the myth of the origin of fire. In one, fire was stolen from Sun by the children who escaped the flood; in the other, fire, which was the property of the Vultures, was stolen by a Toad who, pretending to be cold, came near the fire and stole some embers.

The leading characters of *Chiriguano-Chané* folklore are Armadillo (Tatu) and Fox (Aguara), whose names, when mentioned in the various stories, are always followed by the adjective, "tunpa" (sacred). Armadillo is a wise and powerful character, always well disposed toward mankind. Aguara-tunpa (Fox) is a trickster, though in many cases he also plays the part of a culture hero. For instance, Fox steals algarroba seeds from Viscacha (*Lagostomus maximus*), he captures Vulture and forces him to yield the original rubber ball as his ransom. Tatu-tunpa and Aguara-tunpa have several adventures together. On one occasion Aguara-tunpa changes Tatu-tunpa into a repulsive man in order to marry the pretty daughter of a chief while his companion gets the ugly one. Tatu-tunpa shows his greater power by magically tilling a huge field which is instantaneously covered with all kinds of foods. Aguara-tunpa is then unmasked.

Aguara-tunpa kills Tatu-tunpa and puts on his skin, in order to deceive the latter's wife. Again he is unmasked and punished.

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The old *Tupi-Guaraní* myth of the Twins was also recorded among the *Chiriguano* (Métraux, 1930 b). A girl is magically impregnated by Tatu-tunpa. She is expelled from her village and wanders in search of the father of the Twins who she bears in her womb and who speak to her. The Twins show her the path to their father's house, but, becoming angry at her, they mislead her to the house of the Jaguars, who kill her. The Twins are brought up by their grandmother. Later they hear about the murder of their mother from a yacu bird. They take revenge on the Jaguars by attempting to drown them when they cross a river by making it wider and wider. Finally, the Twins climb up a chain of arrows to the sky, where they become Sun and Moon.

The *Chiriguano* also have a version of the old *Mayan* and Andean myth of the rebellion of manufactured objects against their masters.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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THE YURACARE, MOSETENE, AND CHIMANE

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

Culturally, the *Yuracare*, *Mosetene*, and *Chimane* are closely related (map 1, *No. 3;* map 2). The *Leco* probably belonged to the same cultural area, but information on them is scanty and, therefore, it is presented in a special chapter.

The *Yuracare* (*Conis, Cuchis, Enetes*) territory was defined by D'Orbigny (1839, 1:354–355) as the large zone of Tropical Forest at the foot of the Andes, extending from Santa Cruz in the east to Cochabamba in the west (lat. 16°–17° S., long. 63°–66° W.). In more recent times, *Yuracare* settlements were scattered along the Mamorecillo, Chimoré, Chaparé, Securé, and San Mateo Rivers and their tributaries.

The *Yuracare* were divided into two mutually hostile groups: The *Soloto*, or eastern *Yuracare*, and the *Mansiño* to the west, on the slopes of the Andes. The *Oromo*, though exterminated by the *Mansiño*, seem to have belonged to the latter nation. The *Soloto* of the Mission of San Carlos were called *Mage* by the inhabitants of Santa Cruz.

The contacts of the *Yuracare* with the Whites go far back in time. On several occasions in the 17th century, they raided the Spanish settlements near Mizque and Cochabamba. The first missionary to visit them was Father Francisco Marcos who, in 1776, founded the Mission of Asunción de Maria Santissima on the Paracti River, between the Coni and Chaparé Rivers. This mission was soon abandoned but was restored for a few years in 1784. The Mission of San José on the Coni River was established in 1795 by Father Tomas Anaya, but was deserted by the Indians in 1805, after it had been shifted to the Mamoré River. The Mission of San Francisco, founded on the Mamoré River in 1793, was also soon abandoned. At the beginning of the 19th century, Father Lacueva tried to restore the Mission of Asunción, but it was in ruins when D'Orbigny passed through it in 1831.

The *Yuracare* language is still regarded as unrelated to any other group.

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PLATE 41.—**Chiriguano pottery and urn burials.** *Top, left:* and *bottom:* Pottery making. *Top, right:* Urn burials at Calpipendi, Chaco, Bolivia. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[End Plate I]

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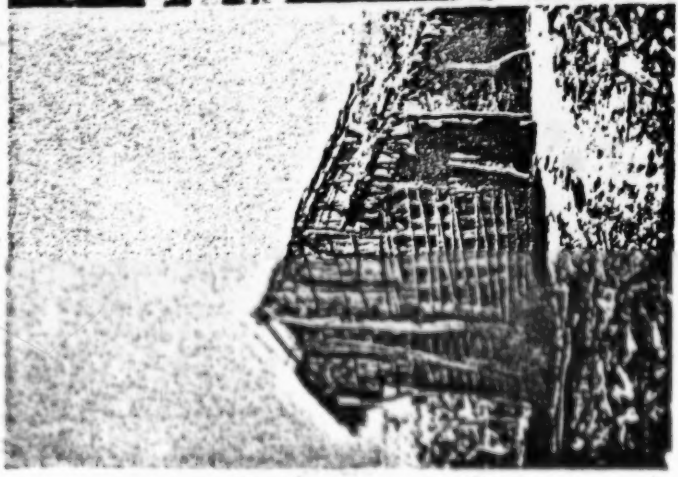

PLATE 62.—Chiriguano Indians. *Left:* Granary on piles. *Center:* Woman spinning. *Right:* Woman and child. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[End Plate 2]

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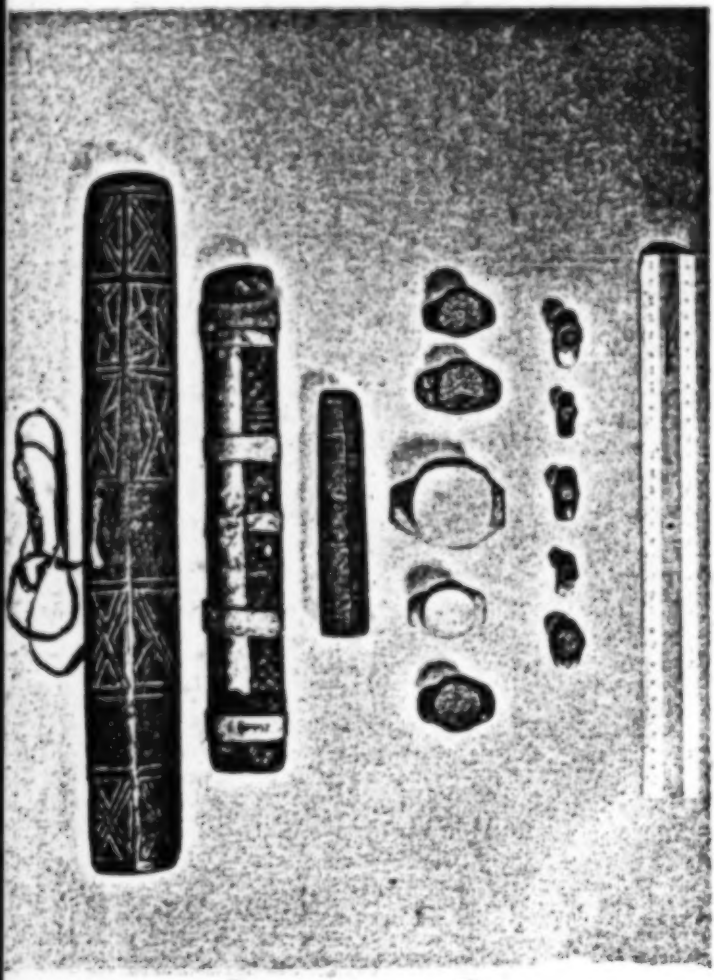

[End Plate 3]

PLATE 43.—Chiriguano artifacts. Three engraved wooden aerophones and lip plugs of metal with inlays. (Scale, 30 cm.) (Courtesy Museo Etnográfico de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Buenos Aires.)

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PLATE 44.—**Wooden masks of the Chiriguano and the ehipiaos.** *Top:* Chiriguano masks made of a single piece of wood. (The scale is 30 cm. long.) *Bottom:* Painted wooden masks, probably Chiriguano in origin. (Courtesy Museo Etnográfico de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Buenos Aires.)

[End plate 4]

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/Since Métraux believes that the Chiriguano are actually descendants of the Guaraní, early culture history of the Chiriguano, in regard to their migrations and relations with other groups with whom they came in contact, will be found in category 116, pp. 1-30. Much of the material in these pages has been subheaded for Guaraní SM4 but if the author's contention is correct then the data contained therein may equally apply to the historical Chiriguano./